

## Message Text

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S/S-MR GAMMON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

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TOPOL 44

EXDIS

FOLLOWING STATE 225424 SENT TAIPEI INFO TOKYO 15 NOV

RPT TO YOU QTE

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, SEOUL, NATO, PEKING  
FROM TOKYO NOV 14.

QUOTE

TOKYO 14884

EXDIS

SECTO 175

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP JA CH

SUBJ: SECVISIT TOKYO - PRESS BACKGROUNDER

DEPARTMENT FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY AND PASS NSC FOR MAJOR

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GENERAL SCOWCROFT.

USNATO FOR AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD

PRESS BACKGROUNDER GIVEN NOVEMBER 14 IN TOKYO BY THE SECRETARY ON US-PRC COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWS. TEXT WAS EMBARGOED UNTIL 0800, WASHINGTON TIME, NOVEMBER 14.

THINK THE MOST USEFUL WAY TO PROCEED IS TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS AND JUST LET ME MAKE ONE OR TWO GENERAL COMMENTS. AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID TO SOME OF YOU ON THE PLANE THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF LOOKING AT THESE DOCUMENTS. ONE IS WHAT DO THEY SPECIFICALLY SAY, SECONDLY WHAT IS THE PROCESS OF WHICH THEY ARE A PART AND THEREFORE HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE TOTAL RELATIONSHIP, AND THE VISITS HAVE TO BE SEEN NOT AS AN ATTEMPT TO PRODUCE A DOCUMENT BUT RATHER THE DOCUMENT IS SORT OF A SURFACE STATEMENT AS OBVIOUSLY A FULL COMPREHENSIVE DETAILED EXAMINATION OF WORLD ISSUES TO MAKE SURE TWO COUNTRIES UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS PURPOSES AND POLICIES AND THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE FORWARD ON THE ROAD THAT I SKETCHED IN THE FIRST EVENING'S TOAST TOWARD NORMALIZATION AND I THINK THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. SO LET ME STOP HERE AND TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q. IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SUGGEST THAT THIS IS DISTINCT FROM THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE?

A. FIRST OF ALL IT BROADENS THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE BEYOND THE ASIAN-PACIFIC AREA TO THE WORLD IN GENERAL. SECOND IT HAS A MUCH STRONGER STATEMENT ABOUT THE NEED OF CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS AT AUTHORITATIVE LEVELS. THIRD THERE IS A NUANCE IN THE CHINESE STATEMENT ABOUT WHAT NORMALIZATION DEPENDS UPON WHICH I BELIEVE FIT FOR YOU TO ANALYZE FOR YOURSELVES AND WHICH WILL BE THE BASIS OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. FOURTH IT INVOLVES QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE UPDATING OF THE LIAISON OFFICES WHICH, OF COURSE, DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME. SO THAT THE LAST FEW PARAGRAPHS ARE AN EXPANSION OF MATTERS THAT DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME. THOSE I WOULD SAY ARE THE MAJOR EVOLUTIONS BEYOND THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.  
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Q DR KISSINGER, HOW SHOULD ONE INTERPRET THIS PARTICULAR PHRASE ON PAGE 2, FIRST PARAGRAPH, "ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CONFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE CHINA?"

A. HOW SHOULD YOU INTERPRET THAT? WELL, IT REPRESENTS A CERTAIN EVOLUTION IN THE SENSE THE PREVIOUSLY VERY SPECIFIC AND DETAILED ACTS WERE REQUIRED WHILE NOW THE AFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLE AND WE WILL EXPLORE THIS OVER THE NEXT MONTHS IN GREAT DETAIL.

Q. YOU HAVE SAID THAT US RECOGNIZES THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA. YOU HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT NOW FOR (SECRETARY SAID,

"WELL, IN  
THAT CASE IT IS UP TO YOU TO ARGUE THAT THE PRINCIPLE  
HAS ALREADY BEEN MET, BUT WE ARE NOT SAYING THAT").

Q. IS THIS THE NUANCE YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT?

A. THAT'S THE NUANCE AND THE CHINESE POSITION.

Q. MR SECRETARY, CAN ONE CONCLUDE FROM THE READING OF  
THIS THAT THE PREVIOUS US CONDITION ON REDUCING FORCES AS  
TENSION IN THE AREA DIMINISHES HAS BEEN FULFILLED?

A. WELL I WOULDN'T SAY THAT, BUT YOU CAN SAY IT IS IN THE  
PROCESS OF BEING FULFILLED.

Q. DID YOU PROJECT IF FURTHER IN YOUR TOAST?

A. THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED.

Q. WHICH GENERAL PRINCIPLE?

A. OF REDUCING FORCES AS TENSION DIMINSHES.

Q. THERE WAS AN AFP REPORT FROM PEKING YESTERDAY THAT ONE  
OF THE SUBJECTS YOU DISCUSSED WITH THE CHINESE WAS A RE-  
DUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA.

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A. I WOULD SAY ONLY THAT AFP WOULD BE THE LAST AGENCY TO  
KNOW WHAT WE DISCUSSED EVEN WITH THE CHINESE. BUT THERE  
HAVE BEEN NO LEAKS OF THIS KIND OF OUR DISCUSSION. A  
REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA IS NOT--FIRST OF ALL  
THERE IS NOT SPECIFIC REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA  
NOW BEING PLANNED. THE REDUCTION OF OUR FORCES IN KOREA  
WILL BE RELATED TO THE OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE SECURITY  
REQUIREMENTS IN THE PACIFIC AND IT IS NOT A SUBJECT OF  
DISCUSSION WITH THE CHINESE.

Q. WAS IT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION WITH THE CHINESE?

A. I WILL ANSWER THIS QUESTION, BUT I WILL NOT ANSWER  
ANY OTHER QUESTION IN WHICH YOU ASK ME WHAT WAS OR WAS  
NOT DISCUSSED, BECAUSE ON THAT BASIS I WILL SOON GIVE  
YOU A CHECK LIST. THAT PARTICULAR SUBJECT WAS NOT A SUB-  
JECT OF DISCUSSION. THE SUBJECT OF THE REDUCTION OF  
AMERICAN TROOPS IN KOREA.

1. (TWO PEOPLE ASKED QUESTION AT THE SAME TIME).

A. HELEN, I CAN GO INTO--HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTION THAT

ALL THE SUBJECTS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WERE DISCUSSED AND THAT THE AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE AREA OBVIOUSLY WAS DISCUSSED AS WELL AS A VIEW OF BOTH SIDES TOWARDS THEIR OWN COMPLEX OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,

Q. CAN YOU SAY HOW MANY TROOPS WE HAVE IN TAIWAN NOW?

A. YOU OUGHT TO GO TO THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT--MY INSTINCT IS SOMETHING LIKE 6,000-6,500.

Q. CAN YOU SAY WHAT AREA AND NUMBER OF EXCHANGES ARE INVOLVED?

A. I WILL SAY A WORD ABOUT THAT IN A MINUTE. THE EXCHANGES INVOLVED ARE IN THE PERFORMING ARTS, PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE--THE ACTUAL EXCHANGES AS YOU KNOW ARE HANDLED BY PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND WE WILL BE DEALING WITH THEM ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF THE LIST AND WE HAVE AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AS TO THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE AND AS TO THE TYPES OF EXCHANGES. WE WILL NOW WORK THESE OUT IN GREATER DETAIL WITH THE PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED AND THEN THEY WILL BE ANNOUNCED APPROPRIATELY. AS FAR AS THE NEWSMEN ARE CONCERNED, I RAISED THIS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PROBLEM IS THIS: THEY ARE IN PRINCIPLE PREPARED TO HAVE PERMANENT OFFICES IN PEKING. THEIR DIFFULTY IS THAT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY WHAT THE ELATIONSHIP OF THEIR NEWSMEN WOULD BE TO THE NEWSMEN OF THE CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY FROM TAIWAN AND IN WHAT WAY THEY WOULD BE HANDLED BY THE APPROPRIATE ORGANIZATIONS AND AT PRESS CONFERENCES AND AT PROFESSIONAL CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS. WE WANT TO LOOK INTO THIS QUESTION AND IN FACT WE MAY WANT TO CONSULT SOME OF YOU. BUT THIS IS WHERE THE MATTER OF NEWS OFFICES STANDS.

Q. ARE THEY OBJECTING TO BEING ACCREDITED TO THE SAME AGENCIES WHERE TAIWAN NEWSMEN ARE BEING ACCREDITED?

A. THAT SEEMS TO BE THE PROBLEM.

Q. AND THEY DON'T WANT TO ALLOW AMERICAN NEWSMEN IN UNLESS THERE IS RECIPROCITY, IS THAT IT?

A. THAT'S RIGHT. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NO PROBLEM AND THEY INDICATED THEY WOULD BE BROADMINDED ABOUT VISITORS. IT IS THE PERMANENT OFFICES, BUT THERE, TOO, THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE OF PRICIPLE AND MY IMPRESSION IS THAT THIS IS A MATTER THAT WE CAN PERHAPS DEAL WITH IN A SATISFACTORY

WAY.

Q. MR. KISSINGER, I ARRIVED A COUPLE OF MINUTES LATE SO YOU MAY HAVE TOUCHED ON THIS POINT ON THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE ON ONE CHINA-- A NUMBER OF CHINESE THAT I TALKED TO WENT TO SOME PAINS TO SAY THAT THE PRINCIPLE FOR RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS EXIST IN THAT SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE--IN THAT STATEMENT WHICH IS EAFFIRMED HERE, BUT WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU IS HOW YOU SEE THE PROCESS MOVING FROM HERE. DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME KIND OF A FORMULA COULD BE CREATED THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM THAT WOULD AVOID THE NECESSITY OF BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS?

A. I DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE ON WHAT CAN IN FACT PRACTICALLY BE ACHIEVED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT PRIME MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI IS A MAN WHOSE SENSE OF NUANCE IS VERY HIGHLY DEVELOPED AND THAT THE WORDS WERE VERY CAREFULLY CHOSEN AND THAT THEREFORE A POSSIBILITY MAY EXIST TO EXPLORE A FURTHER EVOLUTION TOWARDS DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION IN THE WORDS OF THIS COMMUNIQUE.

Q. THERE IS REFERENCE HERE TO EXPAND THE SCOPE OF THE LIAISON OFFICES OPERATIONS. COULD YOU ELABORATE ON THAT A BIT TO WHAT EXTENT IT MIGHT BE EXPANDED, TO A POINT WHERE IT IS VIRTUALLY CROSSING THE LINE TO DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION? I DON'T KNOW WHERE THE LINE WOULD BE, BUT SOMEWHERE JUST BEYOND WHERE IT IS NOW.

A. WELL, MURRAY THERE ARE TWO PROBLEMS. ONE IS THE LEGAL PROBLEM, THE OTHER IS THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM. THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF THE FUNCTIONS THAT CAN BE PERFORMED BY THE LIAISON OFFICES, THE LINE BETWEEN FUNCTIONS THAT LIAISON OFFICES PERFORM AND THAT EMBASSIES PERFORM WILL TEND TO ERRODE IN MY JUDGMENT. AND SUCH ISSUES AS VISAS, ETC. ARE ALREADY BEING HANDLED IN THE LIAISON OFFICES, AS YOU KNOW, AND PASSPORTS. THAT ISSUE IS SUBSTANTIALLY SOLVED OR VERY MAJOR PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD SOLVING IT. THE SECOND ONE IS WHAT IS THE LEGAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEKING AND WASHINGTON AND WE NOW HAVE TO SEE JUST AS WE DID AFTER THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WHAT WAS POSSIBLE WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THAT COMMUNIQUE, WHAT WILL NOW BE POSSIBLE WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE STATEMENTS HERE IN MOVING ON THE LEGAL SIDE.

Q. THE FUNCTIONS, REALLY, OF THE LIAISON OFFICES FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ARE IDENTICAL TO THOSE OF EMBASSIES. IF YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT EXPANDING RELATIONS, YOU'RE EITHER TALKING ABOUT ... ?

A. NO, I'M TALKING ABOUT BOTH. THE FUNCTIONS UP TO NOW  
HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED SOMEWHAT BY THE FACT THAT FIRST THE  
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NUMBERS WERE LIMITED BY A SORT OF TACIT UNDERSTANDING.  
SECONDLY, THAT CERTAIN FUNCTIONS WERE NOT FORMALLY REPRESENTED IN OTHER EMBASSIES  
WE HAVE TRADE AND FUNCTIONS OF THIS KIND FORMALLY REPRESENTED THAT HAS NOT BEEN THE CASE IN OUR LIAISON OFFICE  
IN PEKING, NOR HAS IT BEEN FORMALLY THE CASE AT THE CHINESE OFFICES IN WASHINGTON. NOW WE WILL HAVE TO MOVE ON THIS  
STEP BY STEP. THE ESSENCE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN  
THAT WE WOULD ESTABLISH A PRINCIPLE OF WHAT WE WANTED TO  
DO FIRST, AND THEN SEE WHAT CONCRETE CONTENT WE COULD GIVE  
IT OVER A PERIOD OF MONTHS. WHEN WE FELT THAT IT HAD BEEN  
SUFFICIENTLY FILLED OUT THEN WE TRY TO ADVANCE THE PRINCIPLE  
A STEP FURTHER. SO I THINK YOU'D, IF I MIGHT JUST SAY ON  
THE PRACTICAL SIDE ON THE LAST FEW PARAGRAPHS OF THE COMMUNIQUE,  
I WOULD SAY THEY ARE FILLING OUT THE OLD FRAMEWORK AND  
THE TOP PARAGRAPH GIVES US PERHAPS, I SAY PERHAPS,  
A NUANCE TO THE FRAMEWORK.

Q. MAY I ASK, DO YOU KNOW WHAT THE NUANCE IS, AND WHAT WILL  
BE CORRECT TO WRITE ABOUT IT? WOULD YOU SAY IT WAS AN  
ADVANCE AND THAT THERE WAS AN ACCEPTANCE ON THE PART OF  
THE CHINESE IN GIVING A LITTLE BIT MORE?

A. I WOULD SAY IT WAS AN ADVANCE, YES.

Q. BUT IT'S VERY SOUND IN TERMS OF WHAT HE WROTE?

A. WELL, AS I TOLD YOU IN OTHER COUNTRIES, EVERYBODY HAS  
VERY DELICATE RELATIONSHIPS HERE AND I WOULD SAY IT IS AN  
ADVANCE AND IT WILL PERMIT AN ADVANCE, IT MAY PERMIT AN  
ADVANCE.

Q. DR., YOU IMPLIED, OR THE INFERENCE ON THE SAME SUBJECT  
IS THAT THE WORDS WERE CHOSEN THAT YOU WEREN'T ENTIRELY SURE  
WHAT YOU HAD IN MIND. GIVEN THE LENGTH OF YOUR TALKS, I  
WOULD ASSUME THAT YOU HAD SOME IDEA--IT'S THAT YOU DON'T  
WANT TO SAY WHAT YOU WERE THINKING OF.

A. NO, YOU SEE AS I TOLD ALL OF YOU THAT WERE WITH US ON  
THE PLANE, THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATION-  
SHIPS DOES NOT LOOM AS DECISIVELY IN OUR THINKING AS IT DOES  
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IN SOME OF YOUR SPECULATION FOR THE REASON THAT WE HAVE UNDER  
THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP, EXTRMELY EXTENSIVE CONTACTS  
WHICH PERMIT DEEP EXCHANGES OF VIEWS WHICH IS, AFTERALL,  
WHAT YOU WANT TO GET THROUGH A RELATIONSHIP. NOW WE HAVE,  
BOTH OF US

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